

THE

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THOUGHTS

OF AN

Honest Tory

UPON THE

Present Proceedings

OF THAT

PAR^TY.

In a Letter to a Friend in Town.

L O N D O N

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~~EDITION.~~

ADVERTISEMENT

IT is hoped, that the Gentleman who wrote this Letter, will not take it amiss that it's now published by one, into whose Hands it came: Since it will be a Credit to his own Party to have it appear, that there is yet left some Sense of Honour and Honesty amongst them; And the Reader will not wonder that he speaks so sincerely, and plainly, when he considers that it was written in confidence, and in his private Correspondence with a very particular Friend.



~~of which I have to say, and shall now~~
~~say, among these shall be given~~
~~the whole of my opinion.~~

THE
THOUGHTS
OF AN
Honest TORY, &c.

In a Letter to a Friend in Town.

YOU know, my Friend, that I take a great deal of Pleasure in communicating my Thoughts to You, especially when they are such as lie heavy upon my Mind. I cannot forbear giving my self this Relief, and you are always so kind as to esteem it the part of Friendship to bear with me in it. I need not tell you that my Sentiments in Matters relating both to Church and State, have been ever conformable to *your own*. The same Fears, the same Hopes, the same Joys, the same Sorrows, have been hitherto entertained by us both. But I know not how it is: I cannot, by any means, enter into the measures of your last Letter; nor by any means receive that Satisfaction from some Appearances, which you seem to have receiv'd. Whether it be that your closer Conver-

sation with some Persons of refined Politicks in Town, hath a little alter'd your Soul from that regard to Right and Just, which seem'd once inflexibly to possess it ; or that the Quiet and Composure of my Country Seat gives me more leisure and inclination to melancholy Reflections ; or what the Reason is, I am not able to say.

The Day is our own, you tell me ; We are just now coming into a play again. The Credit of the Ministry is gone : The Reputation of the Whigs sunk to nothing : There are those who have satisfied Her Majesty, that We are Her true Friends ; that the House of Commons must be dissolved ; a Total Alteration made : and the like. How this would once have rejoiced my Heart, I need not tell you. But I confess, a walk or two in my Garden, and a Thought or two upon the Matter, hath made me at present entertain but too melancholy Apprehensions concerning this piece of News. If you will give me leave to speak my Mind freely, as I used to do, I will own to you that I am quite sick at the review of the Methods our Friends have used to gain this happy Prospect, and at the Consequences which at this time present themselves to my Thoughts. Honour obtain'd by dishonourable Means, must end in Dishonour : And Honour obtain'd by shaking the Publick Happiness, is only a more visible Disgrace. These are my Maximis which recur perpetually to my Mind at this time.

A little Patience might have made way for our Friends, without that load of Infamy which must now stick to our Cause, till it hath eaten into it and consumed it. You and others, I find, fondly imagine; that the late Tryal, and our Management upon it, have laid the Foundation of our Reig-

But I fear, my Friend, that when the whole Matter comes to be sedately considered, both the Trial and our Management, and the Man who was the occasion of all, will hang like a *Milkstone* about the Neck of our *Cause*, till it is sunk lower than ever it hath yet been. I know several considering Persons in our Parts, who were a little wavering before, how entirely confirm'd that the *Tories* care not if the Affairs of *Europe* be entirely confounded, so their personal Ends be answered ; and that no Methods are too bad for them to encourage and make use of. And between Friends, a little more of the like Management cannot but alienate my self from a Cause which I have hitherto been heartily engag'd in. You know that tho' I am for the *Church*, I am for *Religion* too ; and tho' I join with the *Tories*, yet I took *Oaths* with a sincere design of being faithful to them : And therefore you will not wonder if I look with grief upon some Proceedings.

What defence shall we make for raising a *Mob*, upon the formentioned occasion, where ever we could ? It cannot be palliated, It cannot be denied. To cast it now upon the other *Party*, is only adding to the Wickedness : And to do it, as some of our Freinds do, even whilst themselves are boasting of having the *Mob* against the *Whigs*, is to gross and bare-faced a Contradiction. I have to my greif, heard several glorying in it : and I am my self witness, that no care was on our side taken to suppress it ; but a great deal to hinder the punishment of any who were concerned in it. If ever there can be such a thing as *Rebellion* against *Queen*, *Lords*, and *Commons* ; this may justly be so accounted. Reig and this is our Glory, which ought to be our *Shame* ;

What shall we say to the *Insults* made upon the Sentence pass'd, by *Bonfires*, *Illuminations*, *Riotous Assemblies*, encouraged, or connived at amongst us universally? When it is asked, Are these the Men who are crying out upon others as the *Promoters of Rebellion*? Are these the *Passive*, the *Submissive Disciples of the Cross*? What shall be answer'd to the *Adversaries*? You know what my Opinion hath always been of the other side: But I must own, that my Reading will not furnish me with a *Parallel*, nor can I say that they have ever, upon so slight an occasion, (a Man judicially call'd to account) shewn so turbulent and seditious a Sperit. And put the *Cafe* that at this time, they had been as ready to return Injuries, as others to offer them, and as desirous of fomenting Disturbances, as we have usually thought them, what must have been the *Event* but something terrible and bloody? something which I cannot, without Horrour, think of? But it seems our Methods, which I used to think open, honest, and generous, must now be wholly altered. Nothing is *bad*, so it be for a *good End*: Nothing to be balk'd that can serve a Purpose. Nor hath our great Management stop'd at these *Tumults*, and *Insults* upon the whole *Legislature* by which we have shewn our Value to our *Constitution*. If all the Profeslytes we have gain'd, and all the Ignorant Men and Women, we have spirited up for us, on this occasion, by Lies, and Calumnies; by personal undeserved Praises, and undeserved Abuses, were taken away, I fear the re.eainder would be very inconsidetable. The *Man*, who is now, it seems, made our *Campion*, we both agree, is not more hat'd by one side, than He is heartily despised by the other. For my own part, I have heard such a Character

racter of Him, that I never desire to have to do with Him. Our Freinds, indeed, pay him, as they would do a *Fidler*, that plays the *Tune* that is called for, and helps forward a *Country-Dance*: And they seem inwardly to value him as much as they do such a one. You know in the *House of Commons*, they did not think fit to say one Word in his behalf, or in the behalf of his *Sermon*. In the *House of Lords*, it was pleaded by them, that the *Sermon* was *incoher-ent Nonsense*, and he that could preach it, little better than mad; and this was thought the best that it was proper to say for Him. All the World knows, He was not to be trusted with the management of his own *Cause*; or with any thing but the speaking such Words as were put into his Mouth. And yet to this Man we must wisely tack our Fortunes. The *Church of England*: Nay, the whole *Church of Christ*, *Christianity* it self must be made dependent upon his Fate. His *Pictures*, His *Cause*, must be made our *Tools*. Who would not envy us such honourable Instruments? He is now, I hear, in his Progres[s], propagating his *Gospel*, making his Triumphant Entries into our Citys, receiving the obsequious Homage of adorning Crowds, and dispensing his Blessings amongst them. I suppose, quickly we shall have a *Map* of our *Apostles Travels*, as there are of the others; and *Proposals* for setting up his Statues in all *Market-Places*; and his *Picture* in all *Parish Churches*. Hath He not a Friend in the World left to recall him, for his own Sake? Or hath not our *Party* one left to stop his *Career*, before he grows too *Ridiculous*, even to be a *Tool* any longer? And is all our *Argument* and *Reason*, dwindled into this? Have we nothing to say for our selves but by such a Mouth, and such a prevailing Figure?

In my Conscience, I think it a Season for us to mourn, instead of rejoicing, if this be so. The *Man* himself will sink us in time.

And then, what shall we say of that numerous train of *Lies* and *Calumnies*, which our *Agents* with Applause, scatter abroad through the whole Country; especially a *News Writer* J. D-r, whom, however some may think of him, I cannot but esteem the greatest Infamy belonging to our Party. Justice is due to all Men. You may remember what a bare-faced Lie He told us about Dr. *West's* Sermon on the 30th of *January*: What Representations He hath made of Matters since, which we knew to be otherwise: and just now (what toucheth my Temper as tenderly as any thing) He hath been insulting Mr. *Dolben's* Death, to make God's Hand in a particular manner upon him: And confidently attributed that to Him, which I since know from those who attended Him on his Death-bed, to be a notorious *Falseness*. Numberless are the Instances of this nature: So many of late, that I have had a Suspicion these six Months, that the *Whigs* give him a *Pension* to ruin us, under pretence of serving us, by his scandalous *Lies*, and *Calumnies*.

Our *Addressess*, I own, make as deep an impression of melancholy upon my mind. Shall I, because I differ from Men in other things, presently go and represent to Her Majesty, and insinuate that they are *Republicans*, whom I know in my Conscience to be otherwise; that they are not *Churchmen*, whom I know to be so; or that they have designs, which I cannot prove ever to have entered into their Heads? And shall I so far forget my self, as to declare that *Right* to be the *best Right*, which I my self have abjured for the future? All the *Posts* and *Offices*, in

all the Kingdoms of this World, are not worthy of one such instance of *Foul-Play*. I cannot forbear doing Justice to all, and acting the part of a generous Enemy, as well as an honest Man. I asked one great Man, who brought me an *Address* to signe, whether he could name one single Person of any remark among the *Whigs*, who desires our present *Constitution* may be changed into a *Republick*; whether as great Friends as any we have, had not openly own'd *Passive Obedience*, to be a *limited Duty*; whether that which we *ourselves* own to be true, should be made matter of reproach to others; whether our Cause could not be better supported without *Lies* and *Calumnies*, and the like. I found he could name no such *Republican*: And as for the *Doctrine* of *Non-resistance*, he frankly own'd between Friends that he believed all were of a mind about it, and that none would practice it in *Cases of Extremity*. He added, that by *Hereditary Right*, he for his part meant no more than *Hereditary Right*, according to that *Act* which excludes *Papist*, and consequently destroys *Hereditary Right*: but that these Terms would serve as well as any in the World to break another Interest, and to keep up a *distinction* where there was no *difference*. I could not forbear answering him, that I detested *Popish Principles* and detested *Republican Principles*: But at this time found my *Dereftation* to rise highest against those false Friends, who were now bringing an indelible disgrace upon a good Cause, by *Jesuitical*, and *Diabolical* methods. He seem'd to pity my Honesty and so took leave, As soon as he was gone, *Good God!* thought I to what a heighth shall we come at last, and where will such proceedings end? Our Cause may be carried indeed for the present by such methods

methods: But what *Cause* can long subsist by them? If we could not hold it, when we came regularly, and by the voluntary favour of our *Princiss*, into the *Posse* and *Trusts* of the Nation; how shall we be able to hold it, when we come to them under a burthen of such *Infamy* and *Dishonour*, as will one day or other appear in due Light, to the generality of the Nation?

And, my Friend, the circumstances of time should methinks stricke some little concern into every *British Heart*. Think to what a *Crisis* things are coming abroad; the great affair of *Peace* now on *Foot*; a *General* fighting our Battles, in whom the *Allies* have an intire confidence; the *Summer* almost half spent; the *Pretender* watching the lucky opportunity: At home, think of a Nation of Men mutually provoking, and provoked by one another, hardly, at best, abstaining at this time from open quarrels. Is this a time for such a Total Alteration as must shake the confidence of Friends, and inspire the Enemy with Hopes? Is this the Season for a entire change of Hands, when *publick Credit* must be sunk into nothing, before the rest of *Europe* can have time to know vvhom they are to depend upon, and the People at home vvhom they are to trust? Is this a day for a *New General*, or to disgust the *Old*, vvhile he is happily in the favour of all abroad, and in the midst of the Execution of glorious Projects? Or is this a time for a new choice of a House of *Commons*, vvhile such an opportunity is more likely than ever to be improved by our *Common Enemies* into a *Civil War* amongst our selves, should upon other Terms, have been as glad as a Man of such Alterations: But not upon the *same Terms* of hazarding a total Ruin of us all together.

of endangering the whole Confederacy ; of forcing upon Europe a dishonourable Peace, and of laying open our selves to the greatest Heats and Quarrels. As much as I have ever opposed the Whigs & as heartily as I have ever espoused another Interest, I profess I would not, for all the World, be the Man who should at this time bring about so terrible and hazardous Alterations : Which can hardly, without a miracle, be unattended with the most fatal consequences, both abroad and at Home. Abroad, we cannot our selves deny it, the dissidence and distrust upon an entire change here, must be as great as we know, the confidence and security to be at present : And so the sole End of a twenty Years War, all at once disappointed, even when it is come within view of a Conclusion. At Home such threatenings have been given out, and such insults made, that I dread to think, lest the field of Election should become a field of Battle. This however, I cannot help foreboding, that if there be any one happy consequence of such changes at this time, it must be to the Common Enemy ; if any miserable, it must be to our native Country :

Alas ! Whither are we running so hastily ? And what is the Spirit which we have been raising ? We see the beginnings of these things ; but we see not the end. Would it not make a Man of sober Sense, heart-sick, to hear what is vented, (by means of our encouragement, and our protection, *forsooth*) from those Pulpits in which our Friends do so superabundantly at this time Triumph ! The young Man, just come from the University ; and the old Man that hath been long in the World ; (those I mean, that are called of our Party,) agree in making them too common places of Liberty, how much soever they are against

against *Liberty* in others. Nothing hardly now to be heard of from them, but the superiority of the Crown to every thing, except the *Church*; the *Independency* of *Church*, and *Churchmen* upon the State; the Royal and Divine Dignity of the *Priesthood*; the entire Dependence of us poor *Laity* upon their *Absolutions* and *Benedictions*; not without frequent Hint concerning the *restitution* of *Church-Lands*; and open declarations, that any notice taken by the *Civil Power*, of what they think fit to deliver from the *Pulpit*, is downright *Persecution*, and *Usurpation*. *Behold I am with you to the end of the World*: *As my Father sent me, so send I you. A Royal Priesthood* — Shall perish in the gain-saying of *Core*. As for the old Paths. They that resist, &c. These and the like passages of *Scripture*, distorted from their original Design, furnish them with plentiful matter for magnifying themselves and their Office; as well as for Preaching up the *Slavery* of all others. And a one madness of the people, draws on another; so who knows, what may be the consequence of so many fine harangues? Some, I find, are come already to talk of the *Catholick Church of England*: Which is the old *Popish Blunder* of a universal particular *Church*. What they may come to next, I cannot divine. We have opened our *Preachers Mouths* and who shall shut them, we know not. We have taught them to cry out against all judicial Notice, a *King's* Wickedness, and *Diabolical Invasion*: And now it shall be lawful for them to vent any thing. The more bold, the more like a *Minister of God* who is to answer at another *Tribunal*, for the abuse of his Office, and not to earthly Judges! If they are so weak, as to think, that we desire and long for their *Dominion*, any more than the *Wrigs*, the

are as much mistaken as ever Men were: But if we still go on to encourage such a Spirit in them, and such extravagant Flights, as it may be too hard, in time, to restrain; I know who are the Fools. We may flatter our selves, they are doing our Work: But it is manifest they are doing their Own. We imagine them our Tools: But I fear, the Tools may come to be too hard for the Workmen.

You have here my free Thoughts. I have this peculiarity in my Temper, that I am more affected and angry, at the Vices, and Evil Practices of my own Party, than of the contrary: and think myself more obliged to declare against them. And I cannot but think, there never was such Ground as there is at this time. We used to complain of the Methods and Arts of the Whigs: And we are now combating them with more infamous Weapons, than they ever, in my memory, used against us. We are lamenting the Profaneness of others: What greater Profaneness is there than to be Wicked for the Church? We are crying out upon Hypocrisie: What greater Hypocrisie is there, than to make an extravagant noise about Obedience, the Cloak for Turbulency? And, what seems a Fate upon us, our Wit is dwindled with our Honesty, and our Sense hath forsaken us, together with our Plain-dealing. I know not how it is with you in London; but in the Country, I profess to you, I can hardly meet with any one thing writ on our side, but what is either inhumanly dull, or inhumanly abusive; what is enough to make either the Man very sick, or the Christian very melancholy. Whether it be that the chief Light of our Cause is at present carried in a Dark-Lantern; or that our New Heads are resolv'd to keep all their deep Sense within their own unsearchable Breasts; or that it is thought best to adapt

adapt every thing to the Capacity of Watermen
Porters, Carmen, and Plowmen, leaving Gentlemen
and Men of common Sense to shift for themselves
or that we in the Country, are permitted to have
nothing but vwhat some Whig-Booksellers in Town
vvill let us: This I can assure you, that I can meet
vvith nothing to put into the Hands of a sensible
Whig-Neighbour vwho visits me, but vwhat make
him think us insipidly mad, and vwhat sets him ten
times more against us than he vvas before. The
last Paper I sent him, He this Morning returned
vvith this Note in the Blank-leaf, *God be thanked*
I have now lived to see the Party-vwritings of the To
ries as void of Wit, as ever I thought their Cause
be, of Reason: I desire, if You have any thing
that may serve to take off this Reproach, You
vwould immediately send it dovn to me. But of
all things I intreat You, let me have nothing that
bears any relation to the Author of *Timothy and Ph*
lathus, vwho, I hear, hath been dabbling again
For A Wag is my Aversion: And, vvith me, want
Decency is always want of Sense. His first Work gave
me disgust enough: And I confess my amazement
is hardly yet diminished, that Christians and Di
vines, who expung'd, as I have been inform'd, so
much of his Obscenity, Profaneness, and Folly, could
still leave so much behind: especially vwhen they
had Martial's easie Rule before them, — *Unsh*
tura potest. There are a sort of Writings, not to
corrected but by one long black stroake of the Pen.

Indeed, vve have hardly one Writer on our side
as I see: But the Weight of a numerous Company
of Scribblers, void of Sense and Good Manners;
ring neither Dead nor Living; insulting the one,
yond Example, and abusing the other, beyond Pri
tance. If any of us condescend to argue, vve are for

ed to acknowledg the truth of the main *Whig Principals*, as hath been now done in the Face of the vwhole World. And yet the next Nevvs vve hear of from our Quarter, is *Obedience without Reserves*, and I knowv not vwhat Monsters of equal Wickedness and Nonsense. When vve are forced to explain our selves upon *Absolute Non-resistance*, or ~~Hereditary~~
Right : We have the Absurdity to ovvn that by *Absolute Non-resistance*, vvc mean a *Non-resistance* vwhich is not *Absolute*; and that by *Hereditary Right*, we mean the same with the *Whigs Parliamentary Right*. And yet we have the *Conscience* to raise the Spirits of the poor People against them, by the deceitful use of these Words, & by Clamours about a Difference, vwhere vve cannot maintain any. If this don't do, vwhy then We have a farther Fetch ; viz. to tax them vwith secret Intents against our *Church* and *Monarchy*, contrary to all the Rules, I vvill not say of *Christianity*; (for it seems to be forgotten that We are *Christians*;) but of *Heathen Justice*, or *Mahomitan Honesty*. In one Word, Our *Champion*, our *Addresses*, our *Writers*, our *Methods*, are all of piece. I vvill undertake that, at a lucky confluence of Circumstances, the best Set of *Principles*, and of *Men* that ever yet appear'd, might be in dovvn, and exploded, for a time, by the like persons, and the like Means. But remember again, that I have said to you, *They that make use of them, will, at length, be sunk by them.*

Before I ease You of this trouble, I vvill add a word or two. Our Friends are grovvn very fond Fast-days: But their Thoughts, I find, alvvays turn upon the Sins of others. Why should vve not once call to mind our ovvn ? and instead of scolding our selves for the Malice of Lunaticks, the Folly of those vvhom no body regards, and vso much as knewv of, before We, out of one Christi-

Christian Compassion, disclosed the Infernal Scene; instead of this, I say, vvhyl should vve not pulickly repent in Dust and Ashes for that Scene of Villany, and Scandal, vvhich is vworking on our side, and vvhich I cannot say, vve desire so much as to seem to discourage. And for the time to come, let us dare to be honest; if vve think fit to enter the Lists, let us combate our Neighbours upon equal Terms, and not be so dishonourable as to fight them with Weapons that make us an Overmatch for all that have any degree of Love to their Country, or of Modesty, or of Humanity, left. I am. &c.

P O S T S C R I P T

I have just now receiv'd the Impartial Account of the Proceedings in the last Sessions, &c. and have consider'd it enough to tell you, that I am still more confirm'd in what I have been lamenting. The very Title-page is Knavery; and the Conclusion as plainly points to a second Restoration, as any one could well dare to do, before it comes to pass. The Tenderness express'd, p. 11. to Papists and non jurors, as if it was unreasonable to look upon them as Enemies ready to disturb our Government, hath an appearance in it, shocking to every honest Man who hath taken the Oaths: And the ridiculous Contradiction of boasting of the Zeal of the Mob, against those whom our Friends have nick-nam'd Republicans, and yet attempting to throw the scandal of the Turmuls upon those very Persons who are so nick-named, will remain upon record, as great a Testimony of Understanding, as the former is of Honesty. I am told we are indebted to a celebrated Patron of our Cause for this Account. If this be true, so much the worse; so much the greater load of Scandal upon us. I pass by multitude of other points, which, I am sorry to say, are utterly unjustifiable. Integrity and Honour seem to be entirely forgoten. God help a Cause that is supported by such Methods! Adieu. 4 FF 62